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AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

WILLIAM WHITAKER, D.D.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN, that diſtinguiſhed perſon, and champion for religion, according to Theodoret, thus enjoins miniſters of the goſpel, "either not to "teach at all, or to teach by their converſa-"tion:" impoſing a deep ſilence on that miniſter, who ſhould not adorn the truth of ſound doctrine, by integrity of life and behaviour. This advice, I believe, proceeded more from a zealous deſire of propagating religion, than from the fixed judgment of his mind. For he had found, as Ruffinus teſtifies, when he preſided in the church at Conſtantinople, the very great and wonderful influence of an orthodox inſtruction in the true faith, joined with integrity of life and godlineſs, in conciliating the minds of ſtrangers, and reconciling them to the uſages of the church and religion. And though you ſhould ſay he was a little miſtaken, and turned aſide from the rule of the heavenly Counſellor, at leaſt from the

admonition of our Saviour, Matth. xxiii. 3.; yet it is evident, that he declined with a pious reſolution, and a zeal for honouring religion, and extending the boundaries of the Chriſtian commmunity. But however, though we were to hearken to the impure Phariſees, ſo long as they ſit in Moſes's chair; and the holy apoſtle was pleaſed that Chriſt crucified ſhould be preached with whatever view, *whether of envy, or out of contention*, Phil. i. 15. 16.; yet that doctrine is generally more agreeable and acceptable, which flows from a ſacred veſſel as from a luminous body, and is ſeaſonably diſpenſed by a faithful ſteward, who regards and has at heart the will of his Lord. Theſe conſiderations have the more readily prevailed upon me to conſent to give a delineation of the life and converſation of that moſt learned and pious divine, WILLIAM WHITAKER, to whom nothing was dearer, than (as Jerome ſays) "to turn words into actions;" and thus not only to anſwer the expectations of ſtrangers, who were wholly unacquainted with the manner of his life, but the importunate deſires of our own people, who had moſt accurately obſerved his great integrity and ſanctity in the whole courſe of his life.

In order to ſatisfy the wiſhes and expectation of all, I have often and earneſtly aſked ſome very learned men, who were connected with him, while in life, by the ſtricteſt friendſhip and intimacy, and by no means unequal for this arduous taſk, that they would give an exact draught and deſcription, by their ſkilful pen, of his life, which deſerves to be had in everlaſting remembrance.

remembrance. But having in vain attempted to perſuade others, thoſe very arguments which I made uſe of to them, rebounded upon myſelf, and the burden which I greatly deſired to have put upon them, was laid upon my own ſhoulders alone. This indeed, however burdenſome it may be, would be leſs troubleſome to me, if I had ability fit to bear it. But now it vexes and troubles me not a little, not that I muſt ſuccumb under the toil, but becauſe the moſt gallant champion of the Proteſtants, and the wiſeſt defender of the faith, wants an Homer to celebrate his juſt praiſes, and, by the excellency of his ſpeech, recommend to future ages the expreſs image of his heavenly life, ſhining with the light of faith and good works. With grief, therefore, I undertake the work, but yet with pleaſure, that with a grateful heart I may perform this ſervice to the moſt pious Whitaker, which is not ſo much the matter of my choice, as devolved on me by others. In performing which, all may eaſily miſs a faculty and fluency of ſpeech, (in which he always excelled), and purity and ſweetneſs of ſtyle; but fidelity and diligence every good and reaſonable man will juſtly require. For I will uſe the utmoſt care and diligence to relate with the greateſt faithfulneſs and care, what things I myſelf have obſerved by long acquaintance at home and abroad, or have heard from others eminent for judgment and religion, or, in fine, have received from eye-witneſſes, worthy of all credit, with whom he lived in the moſt intimate familiarity: ſo that, as far as this diſcourſe can reach, nothing may be

detracted from his juſt praiſe, nor any falſehood be related.

That I may therefore trace him from his cradle; the county of Lancaſter, ſituated in the weſtern parts of England, juſtly claims to itſelf all the parts of W. Whitaker's deſcent. For both his parents were of that county, of a town very ancient, and remarkable for inhabitants, called Holme, within the pariſh of Burndley, a mountainous place, ſuch as, on account of the frequent agitation of the thin air, is reckoned the moſt proper for producing the beſt geniuſes, as Cicero thinks. Now, both his parents, by whoſe means he enjoyed the benefit of this light, were ſprung of honourable families. His father by hereditary right entered on the ancient inheritance of the Whitakers, which I am informed has continued in that family for ſeveral ages. His mother was more illuſtrious as to her birth, being moſt intimately connected with two illuſtrious families of the equeſtrian order, namely, the Townleys of Townley, and the Nowells of Read. She was the ſiſter-german of the latter; of the former only on the mother's ſide, whom the heir of the Townleys married.

He ſpent the moſt part of his childhood under the government of his parents, plying the firſt rudiments of grammar, in the ſchool of Burndley, which one Hartgrave is ſaid to have opened at that time, to whom he afterwards did frequent acts of kindneſs. But as ſoon as he was thirteen years of age, Alexander Nowell, that moſt illuſtrious and beneficent Dean of St Paul's, a man celebrated by his reputation for undiſſembled pie-

ty and accompliſhed learning, his uncle, whether becauſe he ſaw him daily tainted with the infections of corrupt ſuperſtition; or that he perceived an excellent diſpoſition in the boy; or that he was fired with zeal for the exerciſe of charity, and endearing himſelf to all his relations, ſent for his nephew Whitaker, yet tender and ſuperſtitiouſly diſpoſed, to London; as we read, that Abraham formerly reſcued his relation Lot from the midſt of idolaters, carried him along with him into the promiſed land, and taught him the true religion, Gen. xii. 5. For he boarded him in his own houſe, and cauſed him to be inſtructed by the maſter of St Paul's ſchool: with whom he profited ſo much in youthful learning, that he ſeemed to be the fitteſt he ſhould ſend to the univerſity.

Wherefore when he was eighteen years old, ſending him to Cambridge, he placed him in Trinity-college, under the inſpection of Mr Weſt; in which he ſo diligently applied himſelf to the liberal ſciences, that he was firſt choſen into the number of ſcholars, and afterwards entered into the liſt of fellows. Being now placed in a conſpicuous light, he began to ſhine a little among thoſe of his own age, and to give no mean ſpecimen of an extraordinary genius and learning. For whatever ſcholaſtic diſputes he undertook according to cuſtom, whether privately within the walls of the college, or in the public ſchools, and in the face of the univerſity, he always carried off with him extraordinary commendations, and the greateſt encomiums for his learning. Therefore, with the higheſt approbation

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tion and conſent of all, he took both his degrees, as well that of Bachelor as of Maſter. To which as he arrived by the commendation of his behaviour and learning, ſo having obtained them, he greatly adorned them by the fruit of his doctrine and modeſty. For he did not, as too many univerſity-ſtudents uſually do, after having obtained their degrees, as if their buſineſs was well performed, and their courſe entirely finiſhed, ſit down in ſloth, wholly given up to eaſe and pleaſures; but like an active runner, on ſight of the end, puſhes the ſwifter forward, in order to reach the goal; ſo he purſued all the beſt ſtudies with the greater eagerneſs and ſpeed.

And that he might exhibit ſome fruit of his labour, and of a grateful diſpoſition, he tranſlated into pure and elegant Greek, a moſt eloquent and learned catechiſm of his uncle's, publiſhed in Latin, having rendered, by the juſteſt title, the firſt fruits of his learning to the very learned Nowell. Nor indeed was he wanting in this reſpect to the church of England; in honour of which he is ſaid to have given a Latin verſion of that book which we daily peruſe in our church-aſſemblies, containing the whole form of the public prayers, and the preſcribed ſcheme of all the liturgy; by this performance giving an unfeigned ſpecimen, how great an honour and ornament he would afterwards prove to the kingdom of England. Nay further, he had the reſolution, and that with the praiſe and approbation of all, to tranſlate into the Latin language, that moſt learned diſpute of our divine Juel againſt that devotee of Popery, Harding, a diſputation written

written with the acuteſt judgment, and repleniſhed with various and manifold reading, in which twenty-ſeven queſtions are reaſoned upon both from ſcripture, and the writings of the councils and fathers, as far back as ſix hundred years from the birth of Chriſt; which indeed he performed to the advantage of the whole Chriſtian church, in order to tranſmit to poſterity more and brighter teſtimonies both of ſound doctrine, and of manifold knowledge and unwearied labour, for the defence of the truth of the catholic and orthodox faith.

When he had ſcarce finiſhed theſe performances, no common honour, though altogether beyond his expectation, I ſhall not ſay againſt his will, was conferred upon him by the graveſt ſenators of the univerſity. There were two men, of thorough ſtanding and ability, advanced by age to bear the public office of proctors, on one of whom, if the cuſtom of the univerſity had prevailed, all the burden of the philoſophical diſputations ought to have lain. Theſe often contending with one another, and both of them inſiſting, and the one not yielding to the other, (however it was proper there ſhould be ſuch a father in the aſſemblies, qualified for defending the academic youth, and for adorning them, and forming them by ſalutary inſtructions), the moſt prudent ſenate thought fit, on the entreaty of the aſſemblies, to chuſe Whitaker, yet a young man, and converſant in the walks of the philoſophers, the father of this numerous offſpring; not only in order to adorn them with due encomiums, and furniſh them with inſtructions for their ſucceſsful progreſs in their ſtudies afterwards,

afterwards, and in fine to incite and ſpur them on by exhortations to induſtry and application; but alſo to handle philoſophical queſtions, and defend and guard them, againſt certain grave philoſophers equally ſubtil and eloquent. This province, which was ſo much the more difficult, as it was taken from others, and ſuddenly impoſed upon him, he managed ſo ſtrenuouſly, prudently, and as became a philoſopher, that, in a manner hardly to be believed, he ſtruck all with the higheſt wonder at his learning and eloquence. I might here take notice of his domeſtic diſputes, which were frequent and learned, and none of which he ever handled without ſome addition to his praiſe: but I haſten to his theological ſtudies, in which, as in a moſt commodious harbour, he very willingly and happily reſted.

At length, having left the univerſity of Plato, and the ſchool of Ariſtotle, in which laſt he had chiefly walked for a long time with the greateſt advantage, he betook himſelf to the diligent reading of the holy ſcriptures, to which alone, as becomes every true Chriſtian, he always attributed all divine authority in delivering the faith, and deciding religious controverſies. He likewiſe diligently peruſed the modern divines, but eſpecially the faithful and ſincere interpreters of God's word. And being a perſon of incredible application, and very capable to bear heat and cold, he in a few years examined almoſt all the ſounder fathers as well Greek as Latin. All of whom he was ſaid to have drank in ſo greedily, that, when I was a boy, fame reported, that if on any occaſion, either by the viſits of friends, or due relaxation,

xation, any part of the time he had allotted for the reading of divines was loſt, he was wont to watch till very late in the night, till he had accompliſhed the taſk of the whole day. By theſe watchings he improved in knowledge, but impaired the vigour of his body, from whence it is probable that weakneſs which followed him during the reſt of his life, chiefly flowed. I am partly induced to think ſo, from the nature of the country and inhabitants, where he was born and brought up, almoſt to the laſt ſtage of his childhood; partly from the excellent conſtitution and good habit of body, in which evident ſigns of an extraordinary good temperature for a long life and firm health were moſt clearly diſcerned; but above all by the regular, choice, and moderate diet, which he conſtantly uſed from his youth. Wine he took very moderately, or not at all, and in the ſummer commonly diluted with water. He never ſtuffed himſelf with meats, not even at the moſt ſplendid entertainments; but ate always ſparingly and with moderation. And in order to the unbending of his mind, and preſerving the health of his body, he delighted in, and refreſhed himſelf with, exerciſes, lawful, honourable, and very becoming a Chriſtian divine; one while by ſhooting in the open fields and free air, which he performed not ungracefully and unſkilfully; another while, amidſt the ſcorching heat, by inveigling with the ſubtil hook, and catching with a wand, the friſking fiſhes at a cool rivulet. But in winter and rainy weather, when, without endangering his health, he had no opportunity of ſhooting the arrow, or decoying the fiſhes, he

diverted himſelf for the moſt part with the ingenious game of the ſhittlecock. In all which, he played ſo chearfully and pleaſantly, without any heat, or the leaſt inclination for quarrelling, that you might perceive he aimed at nothing but the innocent recreation of his mind, and the recruiting his ſtrength, " without diſſolving the har-" mony and agreement of good works, while he " intended to relax his mind," as Ambroſe directs. Having often revolved theſe things with myſelf, and ſeriouſly conſidered them, I was induced to believe, that unſeaſonable ſtudies, and exceſſive application, greatly hurt health. But, as we ſaid, a new load was daily added to thoſe prodigious labours which he bore for learning, that which the moſt diſcreet head of the college, Dr Whitgift, at that time Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, now the moſt watchful Metropolitan of all England, eaſily obſerved, and therefore placed him among his chief delights. Nor did he, while head of the college, only reckon him among his intimates, and when created Biſhop of Worceſter, honour him with a croud of moſt flouriſhing and noble youths, but even to his laſt breath is ſaid to have eſteemed him as a ſon, as he openly and frankly profeſſed, as ſoon as the unexpected death of Whitaker was every where blazed abroad.

But to return from whence I digreſſed: His treatiſes of the common places, in the chapel of Trinity-college, were handed about for the peruſal of the beſt divines, as the method of the office required: popular ſermons in the country, domeſtic catechiſing, truly diligent, pious, and thoroughly

roughly theological, in the ſame college, and there alſo, for the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, three very celebrated prelections, according to cuſtom, in all which I know not whether he ſhewed himſelf more the pious Chriſtian, or the learned divine. Without doubt in the ſchools of the philoſophers and rhetoricians, he acted as a ſecond Baſil, and in the croud of catechumens, he very plainly diſplayed the knowledge and conſcience of an Origen new born.

The order of our begun narrative now requires, that we proceed to higher matters. For although theſe things be great, and worthy of being made known to all; yet, if compared with other things, which he afterwards achieved and publiſhed, they will appear only a ſort of ſpecimens and inſtruments of his future induſtry. Therefore the great aſſemblies, which are held at Cambridge in the ſummer-ſolſtice, in St Mary's church, in the year of our Lord 1578, approaching; he firſt delivered a diſcourſe before the clergy, which had the ſavour of true piety, and abundantly repleniſhed with all kind of knowledge and learning. After that he handled publicly in the ſchools two theological queſtions very copiouſly and elegantly, and defended the ſame judiciouſly and properly, as became a nervous divine and ſubtil diſputer. Having performed theſe exerciſes, he obtained the degree of Bachelor, which he ſought after, with favour, and abundantly and liberally ſatisfied all. But he did not ſatisfy only. For if it had been ſimply well done, they would have acquieſced, and diſmiſſed with their good-will Whitaker, always

mindful of his duty, but never hunting after vain-glory. But they call him again into the theological palæſtra, and eagerly commit to him, in their greateſt aſſemblies, the grave and honourable conteſt of diſputing with the moſt learned men, greateſt divines, heads of colleges, and other doctors of divinity. In ſhort, he entered on the conteſt, the theſes are explained, they are moſt vehemently impugned by the veteran ſcholars: yet Whitaker ſtoutly defends the fortreſs he had gained, adorns them elegantly, and the very theſes which he undertook to defend, remain ſound and entire under his protection.

Having obtained this victory, he reſted for a while within the walls of his own houſe; but ſo that he was never leſs idle, than when he was idle. For in eaſe he thought of buſineſs, and while reſt was given him from public buſineſs, he furniſhed himſelf for bearing labours in public offices, and holding diſputes concerning the faith. This ſeems to me to have been gueſſed at ſeveral years before by thoſe accompliſhed gentlemen, who wrote encomiums on that elegant verſion of Juel's diſputation concerning the twenty-ſeven queſtions deſigned againſt Harding, of which I made mention before. Perhaps he himſelf preſaged it in his mind: ſurely the thing itſelf, and the event, proved it moſt clearly. For it happened, in the providence of God, to whom all counſels are ſubject, that Dr Chaderton, Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, being promoted to the Epiſcopal dignity, and reſigning both the preſidentſhip of the Queen's college, and the office of Profeſſor, Whitaker, younger in years than uſual,

uſual, but riper in knowledge and judgment, was choſen in his room by the ſeven grave men. Whether it was by his own merit, or the favour of the electors, or the ſolicitation of his friends, can it be doubted by any one, who either heard the lectures themſelves, from which a judgment is to be formed of each of the candidates; or knew the modeſty of Whitaker, and his baſhfulneſs in ſoliciting? However, it is certain, that ſome raged with indignation, that a young man was preferred to an experienced old man; and that others were afraid, if he were able to bear ſo great a burden and hatred. Juſt ſo Livy informs us, the ſenate and people of Rome fluctuated in their minds, when all the veteran generals having declined the command, they choſe Scipio, yet a young man, going in the 26th year of his age, the chief and only general againſt Aſdrubal, when he had triumphed for his late victory in Spain. But having underſtood his probity and prudence, which were extraordinary even at that unſettled age, but eſpecially his piety, and aſſiduity in the worſhip of the gods, they are elated, conceive good hopes, and order him to march to the war with favourable auſpices. Juſt ſo they who, on account of the unripe age of Whitaker, were a little more anxious about the diſcharge of ſo important an office for the honour of the univerſity, and the advantage of the ſtudents, ſeriouſly conſidering and recollecting in their minds, what he had written, diſputed, and read, but eſpecially viewing his modeſty, piety, and the venerable gravity and ſound prudence of his behaviour, equal to that of a man advanced

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in years, they recover courage, and, laying aſide anxious ſolicitude, they promiſe themſelves that every thing will turn out favourably and happily. Nor were they diſappointed. For after he applied himſelf to reading, what was wanting in him, which is requiſite in the beſt divine, and the moſt accompliſhed profeſſor? Manifold reading, an acute judgment, fluent and pure diction, ſound and ſolid doctrine; all theſe, which are of the utmoſt importance, ſhone forth in Whitaker's firſt prelections and dictates. Numbers rouſed by this report, repair to the theological lectures, attend them diligently, and greedily receive his dictates. And firſt he began to lecture from the profeſſor's chair on the three firſt chapters of the goſpel according to Luke. Which having finiſhed, he happily runs thro' the whole epiſtle to the Galatians. Then he ſet himſelf to explain the firſt epiſtle of Paul to Timothy, from which he ſolidly formed many doctrines moſt neceſſary to be known by ſtudents in divinity. Laſt of all, in his prelections he illuſtrated that celebrated marriage-ſong, which Solomon, who was declared by the oracle of God to be the wiſeſt of men, ſung by the inſpiration of the divine Spirit, commonly called the Song of ſongs. And thus having laid aſide the interpretation of the ſcriptures, he, on the 7th of February, 1585, betook himſelf to treat of the religious controverſies between us and the Papiſts.

But this is not yet the place for ſpeaking of theſe; I muſt diſpatch ſeveral other things, which cannot be omitted without breach of fidelity. For when

when Whitaker was employed in the public profeſſion, there ſuddenly crept into England, or rather broke into it, a certain young and vain Jeſuit, Edmund Campian, a native of this country, who with ten dull arguments of his (for argument will never be wanting to hereſy more than to wickedneſs), as with warlike engines, threatened at one blow utterly to undermine and raſe to the foundation all the fundamental articles of our religion. While he youthfully boaſted in a little book publiſhed in 1581, Whitaker ſo broke and mauled him, that all people of ſound judgment might eaſily ſee the pretended divine vaniſh into a downright braggadocio, his arguments into rhodomontade, in fine, all his threats into arrant triffes and the thinneſt ſmoke. But there is nothing in divinity ſo abſurd, but it is defended by ſome of the Papiſts. It is no wonder therefore, if, after the defeat of Campian, there ſuddenly emerged, as from the well of ſophiſters, one Durie, by profeſſion a Jeſuit preſbyter, by birth a Scotſman, and by education a Roman Catholic, who, like another Atlas, put his ſhoulders under the ruinating province of Campian, and raiſed again from the clay his baffled arguments, and by counterfeit colouring reſtored them to their former ſplendor. This new and freſh ſoldier, leaping into the place of the deceaſed, choſe another method of fighting. For what Campian endeavoured to effect by a certain ſplendid bragging, and with a menacing look, Durie hoped to accompliſh by dreadful barkings, a dog-like eloquence, and virulent reproaches. But bleſſed be God, who inſtructed the tongue

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and pen of his ſervant Whitaker in this eccleſiaſtical war. For he always yielding the firſt place to the Jeſuit in womaniſh quarrelling and ſcurrilous reproaches, ſo diligently purſues the whole cauſe, ſo canvaſſes and explains every part of the controverſies, (which were almoſt the whole matters in debate between us and the Papiſts), that, in no diſputation, was ever the truth of our defence more conſpicuous to the world. Therefore what Theodoret ſaid of Irenæus, will very well agree to our Whitaker, that he was the light of the ſetting churches. Who, by the light of this diſputation ſo diſcovered the truth of our religion, and opened it up to all the weſtern churches, that it is now reckoned brighter than the light at noon-day. If this were not moſt true, why has not ſome new young brother, a corrupter of the truth, riſen up to plead the cauſe of thoſe two? Why has not a third, as well as a ſecond, ſuddenly and fiercely leaped upon the ſod, in order to challenge Whitaker to a freſh combat? Why has the vanquiſhed and baffled defence of the Jeſuits lain ſo many years deſpiſed and contemned? The band of theſe locuſts certainly increaſes every day, and improves; they abound in idleneſs and artifice: nor can it be believed, that they now want leſs will to deceive, or leſs opportunity of cruſhing the truth, than their predeceſſors. The thing therefore ſpeaks out, that, through Whitaker's means, our cauſe has been ſet in a more clear and conſpicuous light, than can be obſcured by any miſt of Jeſuitical divinity, or the fumes of ſcholaſtic diſtinctions. But let us diſmiſs

miſs and ſend a-packing this barking dog, who has been long ago whipped by his own cords, and ſoundly beaten by the very learned Whitaker, and, his jaws being contracted, put to everlaſting ſilence.

The next is Nicholas Sanders, a remarkable Engliſh Papiſt; with whom, whilſt, Durie was reported to have come with loud cries from the fartheſt part of France, as Homer tells us, the Trojans marched to battle againſt the Greeks, with a loud ſhout, our Whitaker cloſely engaged concerning the perſon of Antichriſt. For Sanders, in eight books of viſible monarchy, weaved together forty, not only probable reaſons, but even very ſolid demonſtrations, in which, as it were by the oracle of heaven, he judged, that he had very clearly evinced that the Pope of Rome was not the Antichriſt. All theſe Whitaker ſolved ſingly by a diligent and ſolid anſwer, retorting moſt of them truly and learnedly upon himſelf: ſo true it is, that the demonſtrations of prieſts in religious controverſies are only mere ſophiſms and quirks.

Moreover, he added to this little book his own theſis into the bargain, which he had propounded and moſt ſtoutly defended at Cambridge, in the great aſſembly, at St Mary's church, when he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity.

His anſwer to Sanders's demonſtrations procured him another adverſary. For Reynold a divine of Rheims, who had not long ſince at the ſame time revolted both from his duty to our princeſs and to his God, induced by I know not what authority, carrying before him a refutation of

this entire anſwer, like a moſt unactive player ſtaggering in the firſt act, meddles with nothing but the preface; with craft and malice, engaging our divines as briſkly as he could againſt one another, to the end that, through their differences, all religion might be the better made the object of odium and envy. But Whitaker diſtinctly perceived his crafty ſtratagems, and his artful calumnies, and lies, and moſt copiouſly exploded them; yet hardly thinking him worthy of an anſwer, in the ſame language in which Reynold wrote, as looking upon him to be a man of deſperate hope, and his book of very ſmall importance. Theſe are all the writings he publiſhed, before he attacked the great Bellarmine, the ſtouteſt champion of the Popiſh cauſe. Againſt whom, whatever he publiſhed, and diſputed, I ſhall particularly reckon up the heads of the controverſies. But I ſhall firſt touch a little at his marriage, and his management of that very celebrated and illuſtrious college of St John the Evangeliſt, at Cambridge, which he had obtained.

The old moroſe Stapleton, who during ſo long a life had neither learned to teach ſound doctrines, nor to ſpeak well, nor think favourably of others, in his book publiſhed in 1592, upbraids Whitaker with his marriage, as matter of reproach. Plainly forgetting the words of the Lord, Matth. xix. 11. *All cannot receive this ſaying*; and of the apoſtle Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 5. *Have we not power to lead about a ſiſter a wife?* &c. and of his directing Timothy as to the office of a biſhop, 1 Tim. iii. 2. *A biſhop muſt be the huſband*

of

of one wife. But if in the ſcriptures he be a ſtranger and foreigner, that he ſaw the grounds of his defence could not be fetched from thence, yet he ought to remember, what, upon the motion of Paphnutius the confeſſor, and a bachelor, that ancient and moſt famous general council of Nice formerly decreed concerning the marriage of prieſts; nor to have forgot what the pious father Auguſtine moſt eloquently taught: "Truly," ſays he, "one who is married that is faithful and obedient to God, is "preferable to one that is continent, but of leſs "faith and obedience." Believe me, Stapleton, Whitaker was not of the ſame opinion with Father Hoffæus your Jeſuit, an aſſiſtant at Rome, and a counſellor of the Pope, who is reported to have declared, "That a prieſt ſins leſs by li-"ving in adultery, than by marrying a wife." Whitaker had never his catamites, nor was ever reckoned a pæderaſt, ſuch as great numbers among you, prieſts, Jeſuits, and cardinals, are, and juſtly are reckoned. Nay, not even your moſt holy deities, theſe moſt impure fathers the popes, are free either from the ſuſpicion or crime of this filthineſs. But Whitaker lived temperately, and practiſed chaſtity; not that kind, which you form by an erroneous opinion, and unchaſtely and baſely obtrude upon your oath-breaking votaries; but which God inſtituted in paradiſe, Gen. ii. 24. Chriſt honoured with his preſence in Cana of Galilee, John ii. 2. the apoſtle called a remedy againſt burning, 1 Cor. vii. 2. 9. and in fine, which all ſound divines acknowledge to be lawful for miniſters of the goſpel, as well as for

laymen. And that you may ſee he ſought nuptial chaſtity with all his heart, I would have you know that he firſt married a wife ſprung from an honourable and religious family, whoſe parents, whilſt the cruel perſecution of true Chriſtians raged in the reign of Queen Mary, by the influence and inſtrumentality of the ſervants of your unmerciful god, who, being wholly drenched with the blood of the innocent, ſits on the city ſtanding on ſeven hills, ſent yearly a large ſum of money for the ſupport of the pious exiles. She was the daughter of theſe parents, modeſt, chaſte, faithful, full of good works, eſpecially of almsgiving to the poor, whom ſhe chearfully maintained and ſupported according to her income, or beyond it. She dying two years after, he married another wife, a ſober, chaſte matron, remarkable for the laudable graces of piety and prudence, whom at his death the very learned Dudley Fenner, of Cambridge, left a widow, who deſcended of a genteel family, and was no deſpicable preacher of the goſpel. By theſe wives our author had eight children, whom he conſtantly brought up in the principles of true religion, and good diſcipline. Such were the nuptials of Whitaker, which that good prieſt Stapleton threw in his teeth by way of reproach.

As to his government of the college, there is no neceſſity for enlarging. For both the dignity and extent of the college itſelf, which has always been accounted the largeſt in any place, from its very foundation; as alſo the admirable, and for many years the approved wiſdom of thoſe moſt honourable men, who took care to have this honour

conferred

conferred upon him, ſufficiently declare the high honour and dignity of his government. At his firſt entrance ſome members fiercely withſtood him, ſome endeavouring to promote their own friends, and others requiring a longer time to deliberate. But not long after, he, by his meekneſs, equity, and probity of manners, calmed their exaſperated ſpirits, and eaſily captivated all good men into an eſteem and admiration of him. His method of government was mild and gentle, ſuited both to Whitaker's calm temper, and moſt becoming the liberal fellowſhip of gentlemen. And how remote he was from even the leaſt ſuſpicion of covetouſneſs, into which governors of colleges, in other reſpects valuable men, often fall, not only the unanimous voice of all who lived under his inſtructions, but alſo the ſlender and mean incomes, by which he decently ſupported himſelf and family, his expence never exceeding his finances, more than enough teſtify. For he had all his care and thoughts entirely centred in this point, namely, the adorning and greatly enlarging the public intereſt of the college, by every honeſt means; while in the mean time he added nothing to his own eſtate, except the laſting memory of his ſelf-denial. And indeed his well-known and approved integrity through his whole life, as well in ſeeking benefices, and entering upon honours, as in conferring them, deſerves the higheſt praiſe and admiration. He never attempted to purchaſe with money any dignity in the college or church, nor to ſue for it by flattering addreſſes, or the importunate ſolicitations of friends. How uprightly and unblameably he behaved

haved in chuſing ſcholars and fellows of the college, (for the maſter has the chief power of chuſing them), and how earneſt he was to exclude all corruption and bribery, I might demonſtrate from many inſtances. I ſhall not enlarge on particulars, leſt I ſhould be tedious: nor do I incline to trace particulars too far, leſt, while I am endeavouring to eſtabliſh Whitaker's character by his good actions, I ſhould brand others with any foul mark of infamy. It will therefore be ſufficient, that I may ſpare names, to ſay with the greateſt truth, that it was the yearly cuſtom of Whitaker, in all elections both of ſcholars and fellows, upon diſcovering by good evidence any one attempting by money to carry a poſt, which ought to have been accompliſhed by his virtue and learning, to ſet him up (though in other reſpects highly worthy of honour) as a diſtinguiſhed inſtance of bribery and corruption, to the end that others, deterred by his example, might learn to court with greater modeſty and honour. I might alſo, as to other particulars relating to his management of the college, produce the moſt indubitable evidences of his very great integrity; but I prudently omit them, leſt the narrative be thought too long for a life too ſhort. That ſaying of Ambroſe holds good: "That is not uſefulneſs, in which "more is detracted from honeſty, than is added "to uſefulneſs."

I now return to Ballarmine, that magnanimous champion of the Papiſts, about whom a few years ſince they were wont to make ſo great a noiſe, and very inſolently to boaſt. While he was domineering in the ſchools of controverſies, and as

was

was ſuppoſed making great ſlaughter of our people, our Whitaker, in a plain and open field, directly attacks him, begins a combat relative to the whole body of the controverted points, takes up the cudgels, throws his own, defends our people, and knocks down the Jeſuit. And firſt indeed he ſucceſsfully begun the controverſies about the ſcriptures, which being in ſix queſtions methodically propoſed and moſt accurately handled, he publiſhed in 1588. Then proceeding in order, he entered upon the controverſy relating to the church, and diſcuſſed it, being treated of in ſeven queſtions; and alſo that concerning the councils, in ſix queſtions; that concerning the Roman Pope, in eight; that about miniſters and preſbyters, in five; that as to ſaints departed, in ſix; that of the church triumphant, in ſeven; that of the ſacraments in general, in eight; that of baptiſm, in ſix; and that of the euchariſt, in five. It is to be wiſhed he had reviſed them at his leiſure, and publiſhed them all; for this was the earneſt wiſh of his hearers, to whoſe very great admiration and approbation he had managed each controverſy. But being carried on by a deſire of anſwering Bellarmine in all religious controverſies, he thought it beſt to retain in his own hands all theſe ſtudied diſputations, thinking, (what afterwards did not happen), that he would have a more convenient ſeaſon at his leiſure for publiſhing them. But it ſeemed otherwiſe to the immortal God, whoſe counſels are an unſearchable depth. For by his order he is called from his ſtation to triumph in heaven with Chriſt, whilſt he bravely fought for the cauſe of

Chriſt

Chriſt on earth, againſt the miniſters of Antichriſt. In managing all theſe controverſies he uſed the greateſt aſſiduity and diligence; reading twice or thrice every week through the whole terms, as is provided by the ſtatutes, unleſs he was hindered by ſome more important buſineſs, which very ſeldom happened, and which he diligently guarded againſt. But he treated his adverſaries ingenuouſly, frankly, and as became a gallant ſoldier, always without reluctance granting what was proper to be yielded, never ſatirically magnifying, or craftily diſſembling their ſtrongeſt arguments, but having faithfully collected and recited them, he very ſkilfully repelled their force, unravelling the knot itſelf with dexterity and ſkill, in which all the force of the whole argument lay hid. In fine, he dealt peaceably, modeſtly, and gently, without open reproaches, without bantering, without wrath, without all deceit, or alluring language; ſo that you might eaſily ſee him to be a moſt ſtudious ſearcher of divine truth, not a cunning and obſtinate partiſan of certain decrees and canons, and of certain parties.

Nevertheleſs that mild profeſſor of Louvain, a very proud critic, Thomas Stapleton, during the ſilence of Bellarmine, with whom Whitaker chiefly engaged, on account of the ſore of his corrupted doctrine in the ninth book of his doctrinal principles, which had been ſkilfully opened and panſed by Whitaker, wretchedly kicked, and furiouſly hurled againſt him whole cart-loads of childiſh, effeminate, and threadbare reproaches, without judgment, wit, underſtanding, or face. And in order

order to leave and hand down to the whole world an indubitable evidence of his imprudent and arrogant preſumption in a bad cauſe, he at fixed hours, when on the point of falling aſleep, tore aſunder and plucked up the whole diſputation of Whitaker, relating to the third queſtion of the firſt controverſy concerning the ſcriptures, in a very voluminous book, and in his own profuſe ſtyle. This angry and railing old man, leſt he ſhould fooliſhly think himſelf too wiſe, our Whitaker, contrary to his cuſtom, anſwered a little roughly, imitating the phyſicians, who, as Plutarch, out of Sophocles, ſays, expel bitter choler by bitter medicines, not only in many words, but more expeditiouſly, I believe, even in the opinion of the profeſſor himſelf. All his reaſons and teſtimonies he ſo ſkilfully, nervouſly, being brought to the touchſtone of true divinity, examines and refutes, that he hath rendered the truth of his defence clearer to the world than the light at noon-day; and hath long ago ſtopt the foul mouth of Stapleton himſelf, not by reproachful anſwers, like an adverſary unjuſtly provoked, but by ſound doctrine, and the moſt ſolid and firm demonſtrations, like an excellent divine. For Stapleton now wants, and for almoſt five whole years has been without thoſe ſucceſſive hours, and thoſe natal holydays, to ſpend on the refutation of Whitaker. We do not hear thoſe mad words, which he frequently ſpued out moſt fooliſhly and impudently againſt Whitaker, that moſt modeſt and accompliſhed divine, *Thou unlearned teacher, thou abſurd diſputer, thou aſs-like profeſſor, thou lying maſter*, &c. Now the prudent old man

has work in his hands to do, more, and of greater conſequence. Now he cannot, even in his retirement or in public, think of Whitaker, though he was grievouſly and very plainly wounded by him. But he muſt contend with his maſters, Calvin and Beza, the one of whom being long ago dead cannot anſwer him; and the other ſeems to have impoſed upon himſelf a ſtanding law, not to contend in vain with ſophiſts. But, O Stapleton, give glory to the Lord God, and, as becomes a Chriſtian, frankly confeſs, what is indeed the caſe, that thy quirks and frauds could not reſiſt the power of the divine Spirit, and of ſacred truth, ſpeaking in Whitaker. For it is moſt certain, that "amongſt the ignorant only "impudence is reckoned truth," as Jerome with great propriety ſays. Thus much concerning the books and prelections, which he either publiſhed, or dictated from the chair. There ſtill remain ſeveral lucubrations, very deſerving the public attention [the light and book-preſs], which I much rather chuſe were in the preſs, than barely to be mentioned by me: ſuch are ſome divine diſcourſes to the clergy, delivered at the beginning of every year, and attended by a great concourſe of the whole univerſity: ſome ſhort, but judicious determinations of theological queſtions in the public ſchools, when the yearly diſputations were made, according to cuſtom, on the fifth holyday of ſome one of the ſeven months, for obtaining degrees; which indeed are numerous, and all wrote down with his own hand in a note-book. And alſo ſome fuller determinations, and laboured with greater induſtry, propoſed in

the

ſummer crouded aſſemblies, the number of which is almoſt the ſame as that of the ſermons. In fine, a little book againſt Thomas Stapleton, upon original ſin, fully written out and prepared for the preſs, in which that deceitful and wicked mirror made by Stapleton, lies broken (I believe) by Whitaker. This was the laſt work he finiſhed before he left the world.

Yet he performed excellent ſervice for our univerſity, and alſo for the whole church of England, the peace and unity of which in truth he above all things ſtudied, for compoſing ſome controverſies, very lately ſprung up relating to a few heads of religion, the very laſt week before he departed this life. For going to London with the very grave Dean of Ely, Dr Tyndall, a moſt learned divine, and profeſſor of Queen's college, they in a maſterly and ſucceſsful manner treated of the controverted points, before the Moſt Reverend Doctors John Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Richard Biſhop of London, Richard Biſhop elect of Bangor, and other very learned divines, all and each of whom were unanimous and did wonderfully agree.

That journey, indeed very troubleſome in the midſt of winter, but eſpecially the exceſſive watchings, whilſt he thought too ſeriouſly of the object in view, are ſuppoſed to have been the cauſes of the diſtemper under which he laboured on the road, and with which being ſeized he returned to Cambridge. The ſtrength of the diſeaſe appeared rather from his lamentable deceaſe, than from his own words, or the ſymptoms of the ailment. After his return he confined himſelf to

his chamber, having ſent for his acquaintance and friend, in whoſe houſe his wife near her time lodged. The next day, which was the Lord's day, he felt himſelf worſe; whence he underſtood his diſeaſe was more dangerous than ordinary. Phyſicians are ſent for, who examine him, talk together, deliberate, and at laſt reſolve, that blood-letting was extremely neceſſary. But I know not by what accident, or with what deſign, ſo eaſy and ſo ſeaſonable a remedy was neglected for the two next enſuing days. But on Wedneſday, when every thing was ready for letting blood, he alone was not fit for the operation, being all drenched in one continued ſweat. The following night, he reſted ſweetly, as he thought. For being aſked, on his firſt awaking, how he had been that night? he anſwered to this purpoſe: "O bleſſed night! I have not had a more agree-"able and pleaſant ſleep ſince the diſeaſe ſeized "me." But his friend, laying his hand on his forehead all wet with a cold ſweat, perceived too certain evidences of his death approaching, and alſo put him in mind of it. Then he overjoyed ſpoke theſe words; "The coming of death or life "is acceptable to me, as God pleaſes. Death is "to be reckoned as my gain." And breathing a little, he added, "I deſire not life, but for "promoting the honour of God, and being "uſeful to his church." Not long after, namely about eight o'clock, in the morning of Thurſday the 4th of December, he quietly, and without any agitation or motion of his limbs, like an expiring little child, breathed out his ſpirit, and ſweetly ſlept in the Lord.

The

The fever having raged all this time, as was believed, he behaved quietly and with the greateſt meekneſs, moſt willingly owned God to be the author of his diſtemper, and moſt humbly ſubmitted himſelf to his will, never either complaining more vehemently of the violence of the diſorder, or of the hand of God afflicting him, than in giving Job's example of patience, from a ſure confidence of the mercy of God in Chriſt, to this purpoſe: "O Lord God, though thou "ſhouldſt ſlay me, yet I am certain that with "theſe eyes I ſhall ſee thee; for I hope in thee." A ſaying truly worthy of Whitaker, in the bottom of whoſe heart true piety had fixed its roots very deep. He ſhewed his piety and holineſs in his look and external demeanour, and through the whole courſe of his life: but at home among his domeſtics, and *in ſecret*, as the Saviour ſpeaks, Matth. vi. 6. where, if any hypocriſy lurk, it diſcovers itſelf, he always practiſed them with the greateſt zeal and ſincerity. He exceeded all others in the patient bearing of injuries; and though many were done to him, he never did them to any body, being ſo obliging to all who deſerved ill of him, through his love both for peace and religion, that evil actions ſeemed to others to be almoſt rewarded by him. Ambroſe thinks this an evidence of Chriſtian perfection. To the poor and needy he was extremely kind and liberal, according to his circumſtances; yet not in the way of pomp and ſhew, in order to purchaſe a name, but in ſecret and in ſeaſon, in order to relieve the indigent. Nor did he exerciſe his charity without the proper choice of objects.

For

For among others he ſingled out the modeſt, pious, and induſtrious poor, as far as he could, to aſſiſt them both by his intereſt and his money; but eſpecially young men ſtudious of the liberal arts, with whoſe diſpoſition and induſtry he was acquainted. Upon theſe he often conferred gifts, when no eye ſaw him, and advanced them to honour, as far as the ſtatutes of the college allowed him. Thus what others ſpend on Corinthian veſſels, Tyrian garments, and Sybaritic entertainments, Whitaker was in uſe chearfully to lay out and beſtow on the godly and the poor, for the neceſſary uſes of life; following in this, as would ſeem, the advice of Jerome: "Let the "bowels of the hungry praiſe thee, not the rich "entertainments of thoſe that eat to ſatiety." It was moreover obſerved, that he uſed the greateſt equity and moderation, in paſſing ſentence on the life or actions of others. And though he eaſily and voluntarily praiſed every one for good actions; yet he was with difficulty prevailed on, when any ſtranger in any ſort badly managed his office, to puniſh him by any open cenſure. If he did ſo at any time, he obſerved this method. He cenſured tranſgreſſions proceeding from imprudence or ſome levity, with a certain gentle nod of the head, accompanied with a ſigh: but as to grievous and atrocious offences and crimes, he was wont to lament over them with the greateſt grief and zeal for piety. Thus "he had "learned to order his own own life, rather than "cenſure that of others," as Jerome adviſes. This was the method he purſued with regard to thoſe under his charge. He would have thoſe who erred

red animadverted upon with lenity and mildneſs; but profligate and abandoned tranſgreſſors to be reſtrained by the ſharpeſt puniſhments: for he thought we ought always to practiſe lenity and meekneſs, that the honour of piety and probity might never be violated. In the common affairs of life, and the meetings of friends, no man was more kind, open, or pleaſant. He was faithful and ſecret in counſels, eaſy and complaiſant in converſation, diſcreet and grave in ſerious buſineſs, merry and facetious in a harmleſs jeſt, in fine, moſt alert and ready to ſerve his friends in every condition, by advice, comfort, and his purſe. What ſhall I ſay of his duty to his parents, whom he treated with the utmoſt reſpect; and whom, when they fell into poverty by miſmanaging their eſtate, he helped to the utmoſt of his ability, though they were reſolute and obſtinate in the matter of religion? When too obſtinate, and cloſely adhering to the old religion, and the vain converſation received from their fathers, yet he practiſed a dutiful regard to them, complying with them in all things which were not inconſiſtent with his duty to God and true religion. All theſe excellent virtues and divine graces, both of knowledge and religion, were adorned with a meekneſs of mind like that of Moſes, and an incredible kind of humility. For although Whitaker was endued with a moſt acute genius, a moſt happy memory, manifold reading, the greateſt eloquence, perhaps as great as was ever in a divine, and in fine with a moſt learned and poliſhed judgment, ſo that he was juſtly accounted as it were the oracle of the whole

univerſity,

univerſity, nay and the wonder of the world, ſince he held no proper and peculiar opinion, but the ſound doctrine received in the church of God, as all divines of great character commonly do, "who ſeek a new path in an old road," as Jerome ſays: yet with all this great knowledge, and with this ſplendor and abundance of the moſt excellent qualifications, no man ever ſaw him elated or lifted up, breathing great things, or diſdainfully deſpiſing the moſt unlearned fellows: but he behaved himſelf the moſt humbly and lowly of all men, as an infant already ſuckled and weaned from its mother's breaſt, having ſo thoroughly laid aſide all loftineſs of mind and haughty preſumption, that you would ſay he was one of the meaneſt of the learned, not a prime doctor, and the crown and glory of the learned. Of this moſt excellent virtue, which does not generally dwell in the ſame habitation with the greateſt knowledge in any kind, (for *knowledge puffeth up*, as the apoſtle ſays, 1 Cor. viii. 1.), he gave not only ſome obſcure evidences, but even the moſt ſignal teſtimonies, though he was inſtructed in the knowledge of three languages, and in the circle of the ſciences. In which, that I may leave other things to mens ſilent thoughts, that appears to me both proper to be written in capital letters, which even the adverſaries beyond ſeas, blind to the virtues of our people, as owls to the ſun, and foreigners flying with a ſwift pace, may read, but alſo proper to be engraved with an iron pen on tables of braſs, that it may be tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity. For who but the moſt humble and patient Whitaker could

could have eaſily borne with the ſaucy inſulting of the prating Stapleton? Who in ſilence could have endured the impertinent boaſts of the Papiſts beyond ſeas as to their champion, and their open triumphs over our profeſſor? Who could have ſuffered the inſults and gibes of certain ſtrollers who hate the light, and turn to every ſide, in their corners and circles, without Pythagorean juſtice, and the ſharpeſt retaliation? In ſhort, who, unleſs endued with an admirable gentleneſs and meekneſs of ſpirit, could have ſo long, ſo calmly, and ſo equally, bore the unſuſpected groans of our own people, not at all bad men, who grieved at his fate, as having fallen upon an adverſary ſo noble, ſo courageous, and ſo invincible, without manifeſt indignation, and ſome public upbraiding of thoſe who divined ſo ill? Yet I do not remember, nor have I heard from any other, that while his enemies inſulted or his unfaithful friends laughed, while the former muttered, and the latter were full of apprehenſions, that he, either publicly in his writings or ſermons, ſaid any thing very ſtrongly by way of ſelf-defence, either for repreſſing the invidious clamours ſpread far and wide, or removing the infamy wherewith he was every where reproached. Once only, but not oftener, I think, while he executed the office of moderator in the public ſchools, an occaſion of ſpeaking about Stapleton having offered, he ſpoke to this purpoſe; That the Papiſts boaſted highly of their Stapleton, as having obtained the victory over him in the laſt encounter; and that he obſerved he had acquired a great name among ſome of our people; yet he

begged all to reſtrain their aſſent for a little, and ceaſe apprehending ill of his cauſe; for he would, God willing, in a ſhort time ſhew to all, that he had never engaged with a more trifling and inſipid adverſary. Truly Whitaker was a man of ſuch gentleneſs of temper, ſuch patience and conſtancy, that conſcious to himſelf of no miſtake in this controverſy, nay thoroughly perſuaded and ſure of the truth of his defence, he could, like a ſecond Fabius, well ſkilled in the Chriſtian warfare, bear with an unruffled brow, and an equal tenor of life, the ſcoffs of enemies, the unjuſt cenſures of friends, and a character for unſkilfulneſs and inactivity not obſcure among his own people. At length therefore, not by delaying like that prudent dictator, but by patiently bearing, and writing nervouſly and ſubtilly like a moſt excellent divine, deſpiſing and undervaluing groundleſs reports, he beat his clamorous foe, extorted a confeſſion of his error from many, and at laſt reſtored to us for ever the truth too much diſtreſſed. I have deſcribed to the candid reader, with the utmoſt truth, the lively picture of Whitaker, the beſt man that lived; which if ſome Apelles had nicely drawn, I well know he would have drawn admiration and aſtoniſhment from his moſt inveterate enemies, and ſorrow and tears from all his friends. But now to let you ſee, that God not only wonderfully adorned Whitaker when alive with heavenly gifts, but alſo honoured him when dead with a moſt famous funeral, which the prophets have always accounted no ſmall favour; I ſhall ſubjoin a few things concerning his funeral and burial.

The

The ſixth day after his deceaſe, a congregation being ſolemnly called, according to cuſtom, by the beadle, in the college of St John the Evangeliſt, there flock thither the whole orders of ſtudents in great crouds, a full ſenate of the doctors, the maſters, regents, and non-regents in great numbers, and the whole band of young men, all ſorrowful, all having their cheeks ſprinkled with tears, as if every one for himſelf bewailed a moſt dear father or a moſt agreeable friend. They find the college, as deprived of its leader, clad in a mourning habit, the walls of the hall, chapel, and inner court being covered with a ſable robe, every where marked with elegiac verſes. Mean while, they who had the charge of the funeral, hearing of the arrival of the vicechancellor, place the bier in the midſt, containing all the cauſe of mourning. Then every one in their order in the univerſity-dreſs prepare themſelves for carrying out the funeral; and a long funeral pomp of mourners and weepers proceeds from the college to St Mary's church, whoſe area was never ſeen more crouded or more mournful. Not the heedleſſneſs of youth, not the invincible ſtrength of mind of men, not the drineſs of old age, could refrain from pouring out floods of tears. The commotion being quelled, the grave vicechancellor Dr Goad, the prudent maſter of Queen's college, handled a paſſage of ſcripture for a ſermon, which Whitaker himſelf when a-dying had moſt devoutly mentioned. In the explication and accommodation of which he mentioned many things concerning Whitaker piouſly, prudently, and mournfully; and copiouſly and plain-

ly ſhewed, what a grievous and irreparable loſs the univerſity and whole church had ſuſtained by his death. For firſt he declared, what buds of virtues ſhot forth in Whitaker while yet in a private ſtation; namely, true religion, with which he was early ſeaſoned as with ſacred ſalt, of which he ſaid he had ſome taſte twenty years ago, when firſt he was made vicechancellor; very conſiderable progreſs and diligence in his ſtudies, above all thoſe of the ſame age with him, which appeared from all the exerciſes of his learning exhibited privately and publicly; nay and holineſs of life (for which God had abundantly bleſſed his ſtudies and labours) very well known, and manifeſted both in the gravity of his behaviour, and his modeſty free from all youthful levity, and alſo in a ſurpriſing complaiſance to all, in a due reſpect and regard to his ſuperiors; all which moſt excellent duties (ſays he) I wiſh young men, taught by the example of ſo great a man, may early learn, who though dead, yet clearly ſpeaks, carefully inviting them to theſe things.

Next he ſhews, how excellently he behaved, after he made his public appearance in the view of all, for at leaſt full ſixteen years, during which he was thoroughly known to him; and that this was conſpicuous, partly in the labours undertaken in the public profeſſion of divinity, which alone requires a whole divine, and in writing many books againſt the enemies of the goſpel in defence of the truth of religion, as alſo in the public diſputes every other week, beſides that in every aſſembly nobly acting the part of Father of the divines, he very divinely executed the office

fice of Doctor of the chair; nay further in the frequent conferences concerning hard and difficult theological queſtions, which were laid before him, at which he was often preſent to his great advantage; alſo in his ſermons, not only to the people, in the country, and within the univerſity, but much more to the clergy, both numerous and excellent, amongſt which is ſtill freſh in memory that eminent one lately delivered at the beginning of the term, which is juſtly called Whitaker's ſwan-ſong: partly alſo in the government of the college of which he was head, greatly for its intereſt, procuring to himſelf the love of all more and more, by his prudence, peaceableneſs, and integrity, though at his firſt entry many had their minds alienated from him: partly in his nature and diſpoſition, as who was mild and gentle, as alſo amidſt ſuch eminence of gifts very humble, in which he propoſed him to all ſtudents as a ſingular example for imitating, very much reſembling David, Paul, and Moſes; ſhewing alſo that he was a man of the greateſt complaiſance and civility to all, a faithful obſerver of friendſhip, and neither an avenger nor mindful of enmity: in fine, partly in his zeal for religion and love to the church, which appeared both in the whole account of his foreſaid labours, and alſo eſpecially in this one point, that he was never obſerved to be tranſported with anger, except out of zeal for truth againſt the open enemies of the truth, wonderfully reſembling Moſes himſelf, who though very meek in his temper, yet hearing of the idolatry of the people, in a paſſion broke the tables of the covenant written

ten

ten with the finger of God, and put into his hands.

Laſtly he related, what Whitaker had ſpoken a little before his death; namely, the day before he took his journey for London for the defence of the truth, in the diſcourſes held on both ſides, he uttered theſe words, in his own hearing and that of others: That he ſaw the truth, as touching theſe controverſies, ſo clear and manifeſt in the ſacred writings, that, as he had taught and believed it, and formed his life according to it; ſo he boldly declared, that, under the favour of God, he would both live and die in its defence: and voluntarily giving his hand, he bound himſelf to the performance of his engagement. After, upon his return to Cambridge, he began to be diſtreſſed with the diſeaſe he had contracted on his journey, he ſaid, I rejoice indeed, if I have done any thing for the intereſt and advantage of the church. Again, I deſire not life, but to be ſerviceable to the church of Chriſt. Likewiſe, at another time, Death is gain to me, and other Chriſtian ſayings which we have mentioned above. The very learned vicechancellor having related theſe things fully and at great length, aſſured the hearers, as we have ſaid before, that the whole church of Chriſt, and eſpecially the univerſity of Cambridge, had received a very grievous wound by the extinction of ſo great a light. He ſpoke theſe things, his voice being frequently interrupted by tears guſhing out; (being with difficulty prevailed on to give the ſermon, fearing leſt his great affection for Whitaker, which was ſtrengthened by kindred, ſhould ſtop his words); others

fetching

fetching deep ſighs heard theſe things, a great flood of tears breaking out; and eſpecially when, with a piteous voice, this moſt doleful ſong as of Melpomene ſounded in their ears: Let the college mourn, the ſchools mourn, the theological diſpute in the aſſemblies deprived of ſo great a light mourn, let the youth directed in the laſt aſſembly mourn, let all the ſons of the prophets mourn, let the univerſity mourn, in fine, let the church of God mourn.

On hearing theſe things all are diſſolved into tears, and at the ſame time all the offspring of the univerſity mourn for Whitaker as their father, as of old Jacob and Eſau mourned for their father Iſaac. Nor was the univerſity only covered with grief and ſorrow, but the townſmen too, (for the moſt part diſaffected to the members of the univerſity, a wonderful ſight!), here for a time, through a new metamorphoſis and by an unuſual ſympathy, become academiſts in honour of Whitaker. They voluntarily fly in crouds to grace his funeral. The mayor with the aldermen, in ſolemn habit and order, aſſiſt as partakers of the public grief, wailing with deep ſighs, and ſhedding tears. Hence the univerſity-members are the more diſſolved into mourning. Sermon being ended, they bring back the corpſe with the ſame magnificent pomp as before (the townſmen too accompanying them) to the college, that it might be laid in the grave in peace, which is now rendered more elegant and neat at the college's expence. Proceeding in the court towards the hall, one of the fellows, a learned and eloquent divine, received them with a mournful oration,

but

but not unacceptable, compriſing in few words, Whitaker's true praiſes, the loſs of the univerſity, and the orphan ſtate of the college. Which having delivered, they go to the grave, into which Whitaker's body embalmed with ſpiceries being laid, there is a very bitter weeping. The weeping being repreſſed, and the principal men being collected from the whole croud, whom it was thought proper to invite, a funeral entertainment is ſerved up, ſplendid and elegant enough, at the expence of the college, in honour rather of Whitaker, whom the ſenate of the college had the greateſt reſpect and regard for, than for the uſe of the gueſts, whom a very great and bitter grief had entirely ſeized and ſwallowed up. Laſtly, that no part of the office which could tend to the honour of the burial, either privately or publicly, might be omitted, at noon again a full aſſembly is held in St Mary's church, and the Cambridge orator is heard, according to his ability in ſpeaking, beſtowing juſt encomiums on Whitaker. Thus it ſeemed good to the univerſity to confer on William Whitaker, by whoſe learning, fidelity, and induſtry it had received no ſmall profit and ornament, the higheſt honour and glory of burial, and with the greateſt croud and conſent of the ſtudents. And thus it pleaſed the great and gracious God, who promiſes to honour thoſe who honour him, to grant to and beſtow upon our Whitaker, who leaſt of all purſued worldly dignity and honour, a pomp and ſplendor of burial unheard of in univerſities. To ſay all in a word: Whitaker lived piouſly, taught judiciouſly, fought bravely, died peaceably, and was honourably

honourably buried in the greateſt peace (which he daily aſked in the form of prayer after meat) with his predeceſſors maſters of the college, who ended their laſt day therein; after he had executed the office of Royal Profeſſor for about ſixteen years, and had governed the college of St John the Evangeliſt about nine, in the 47th year of his age, and on the 4th of December 1595.

[To the account of our Author's life, there are annexed about forty elegiac poems ſacred to his memory, written partly in Latin and partly in Greek. Two of theſe are here ſubjoined, as a ſpecimen: the former written by Dr Ralph Cudworth Maſter of Chriſt's college, Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew, and author of the Intellectual Syſtem; the latter by Dr William Bedell of Emmanuel College, afterwards Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland.]

In obitum ſanctiſſimi pariter ac doctiſſimi viri D. GULIELMI WHITAKERI, *ſacræ Theol. in Acad. Cantabr. Profeſſoris Regii, carmen funebre.*

QUalis erat WHITAKERUS, aves cognoſcere, lector?
En, animo qualis, corpore qualis erat.
E meliore luto Deus hunc naturaque finxit,
Quippe Dei veri verus amantis amans.
Arbor erat, ramos quæ quantum expandit in auras,
Tantum radices deprimit ipſa ſuas.
Felici ingenio ſuperans vel acumine Linceum,
Doctrinæ cerebrum bibliotheca fuit.

Flexanimis docta fluitans facundia lingua,
Ejus in ore lepos, ejus in ore melos.
Regia majeſtas, generoſæ ſtigmata mentis,
Hæc inerant fronti, corpori inuſta ſuo.
Corpore erat, qualis vix eſt e millibus unus,
Corpore procero, corpore Cæſareo.
Mercurius baculo, lituo Mars, ægide Pallas,
Fulmine erat magnus Jupiter altitonans:
Neptunuſque tridente, lyra ter doctus Apollo:
Nec fuit in tali corpore mica ſalis?
Mica ſalis? quid? maſſa ſalis; quid maſſa? vel aſſis;
Huic parilem ſtatuam pone proinde ſalis.
O bene ſi rapida vibrantem fulmina dextra
Te mihi ſpectandum fata dedere tua.
Qualis enim rutilis κορυθαίολος Hector in armis,
Regali fulgens talis eras cathedra.
Qualis erat vibrans haſtam generoſus Achilles,
Coccinea rutilans talis et ipſe toga.
Hæreſeos maſtix, ſeptimgemini quoque monſtri,
Fulmen et Europæ, terror et Auſoniæ.
Hei mihi quam curtata tuæ ſunt ſtamina vitæ!
Quod tibi munus erat, væ mihi funus erit.

RODOLPH. CUDWORTHUS.

In GUL. WHITAKERI *obitum* ἐπικήδειον.

EHeu! quis capiti, quiſnam oculis dabit
Fontem qui lachrimis perpetuo fluat,
Condignoſque dolori
Luctus ſufficiat meo?
Sic te perpetuus (me miſerum!) ſopor,
WHITAKERE, tenet: nec pietas diem
Nec virtus tua quicquam
Supremum tibi diſtulit?

Ergo

Ergo mœſta manus Calliope dedit,
Et vinci erubuit? ſic Lacheſis furit?
Indignumque, ſorores
Tres, ter plus poterint tribus?
Quis noſtris acies ordinet hoſtibus
Poſthac oppoſitas, aut erit impiger
Qui BELLUM, ARMA, MINASQUE
Solus ſuſtineat ſimul?
Quem non Tartareæ colla virum feræ
Munita innumeris anguibus, et genæ
Lucentes, neque rictus
Oris concutiat triplex.
Experta at ſemel hæc tota cohorruit
Quam tu certa manu ſpicula dirigis,
WHITAKERE: triumphum
Juſtum debuerat tibi.
Mors infeſta ſimul vidit, et exitum
Belli pertimuit: nec mora, perfido
Auſu, terga tibi alto
Telo perfodit inſcia.
Et jam colla minax BESTIA MULTICEPS
Vibrat, jam ſolitas intrepido vomit
Iras ore, nec ullum
Hoſtem qui ſupereſt, timet.
At tu qui ſolio ſidereo in ĩdes,
Præſens, aut hominum ſtulta ferocium
Fruſtra, dum tibi bellum
Miſcent agmina, fundere:
Aut frænum domino Tartareæ ſpecus
(Quamvis ille fremat) ponere cum libet;
Et qui vincere belli
Dextras inſtituis rudes:

Imbelles

Imbelles acies quas tibi perfidi
Hoſtes diſpoſitas ordine collocant,
Ut ventus foliorum
Agmen, præcipites age.
Da vires, animos, arma, duces, (PATER),
Succeſſumque tuis; ocius IMPROBUS
In te qui furit ILLE,
A vultu pereat tuo. Amen.

GUIL. BEDELL, Eman.